1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RYA Koryak RYA

their summer dwellings, — the Maritime Koryak pray to the ladder not to let any strangers or ill-meaning people enter the house. In the fall of 1900, when I arrived at the winter village of Paren, it was deserted. The inhabitants were still in their summer houses. I wished to inspect the winter houses; but my interpreter (a Russianized Koryak) and Cossack were afraid to descend into them until I had gone in and come back unmolested. From time to time the ladder is smeared with seal-blubber and other fat.

Fig. 11. Model of a House Ladder.

Sacred Arrows. — Freqently an arrow, given as an offering after a wolf has been killed, is found among the guardians of the fireplace. Such an arrow (I^{u}lhun) is either driven into the ground at its butt-end, or it is tied to a pointed stick, which is driven into the ground, near the hearth. One of these sacred arrows is shown in Fig. 12. I obtained it in the Talovka settlement. It was completely blackened from the soot of the hearth.

The Sun-Worm. — The doll shown in Fig. 13 represents a guardian of women. It is hung up in the family sleeping-tent, and protects lying-in women, and also prevents sterility. It is

Fig. 12 ($\frac{1}{7.5.1.2}$). Sacred Arrow. Length, 66 cm.

called The-Vivifying-One (Yeytele'ličiča^{u}n). The women of the village of Kamenskoye, where I found this guardian, told me that a "worm" is sewed up in it. This "worm" is believed to fall down from the sky into the bag which women carry on their backs while digging roots. It then becomes the guardian of the woman into whose bag it falls. They call it Sun-Worm (Tiyk-Eli'ggi). I think this belief may be explained by the fact that in the spring caterpillars fall from the trees, and thus sometimes get into the baskets that women wear on the back while walking in the woods, picking dry branches, and digging up roots.

Fig. 13 ($\frac{1}{1.1.7}$). Woman's Guardian. Length of doll, 11 cm.

Special House-Guardians. — Some charms are called House-Kamak-Face (Yaya'-kamak-lō^{u}), and represent special house-guardians. Two of these are represented in Fig. 14. The one marked *a* I got in the village of Kuel, and the other in the village of Paren. As the guardian of the house is regarded as the sacred board of the fire-making implements, it would seem that House-Kamak-Face is a supplementary protector of the dwelling, but not of the hearth. The guardian of the dwelling (Yaya'-Kamak-lō) is placed in the shrine (op-yan) and fed on different occasions.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

VI. — BIRTH, DEATH, AND FUNERALS.

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BIRTH. — Before a child is born, the Supreme Being sends into the mother's womb the soul (uyi'čit) of some deceased relative of the child to be born. The length of life of each soul is determined beforehand. Souls are hanging on the cross-beams of the house of The-One-on-High. The duration of the earthly life of the future possessor of the soul is marked by the strap which is attached to the soul's neck or thumb. The shorter the strap, the shorter will be the life of the new-born. A drawing made by the Koryak Yulta, already described (see Fig. 40, p. 93), illustrates the Koryak idea of souls hanging in the house of the Supreme Being.

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As soon as a child is born, it is given the name of the dead relative whose soul has been reborn in it. The father of the new-born uses a divining-stone called Little-Grandmother (An-a'pel) to discover whose soul has entered the child. The divining-stone is hung by a string to a stick, the latter is lifted, and the stone begins to swing; or it is hung from a tripod made of small sticks. The father of the child enumerates the names of the deceased relatives on his and his wife's side. When the name of the relative whose soul has entered the child is mentioned, the divining-stone begins to swing quicker. Another way of determining the identity of the soul is by observation of the behavior of the child itself. A number of names are mentioned. If the child cries while a name is pronounced, it shows that it is not the name of the soul reborn in the child. When the proper name is pronounced, the child stops crying, or begins to smile. After the name has been given, the father takes the child in his arms, carries it out from the sleeping-tent into the house, and says to his people, "A relative has come" (Qaitu'mñin ye'ti). On one occasion during our stay in the village of Kamenskoye, a child was named after the deceased father-in-law of Yulta's son. The latter lifted the child, and said to the mother, "Here, thy father has come!"

If a mistake is made in divining the identity of the soul which entered the new-born child, something will ail the child after it has been named. Then this mistake may be corrected, and its name is usually changed by means of repeated divination.

Neither I myself nor my wife was present at a confinement, nor did we witness the divining while the child was named.[1] What I am going to describe here is recorded from what the Koryak have told me.

[1] In every village, I made inquiries about pregnant women, asking them to call my wife when the confinement should take place, that she might become acquainted with the Koryak methods of midwifery; but the Koryak concealed all births from us. On two occasions women were confined in the villages where we were staying, but we learned of it only *post factum*.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

married with the Kamchadal. In olden times the Koryak on the border of the ancient Tungus-Koryak territory, near Tauysk, undoubtedly intermarried with the Tungus. Of late years the Reindeer Koryak of the Gishiga and Varkhalam Rivers have intermarried with Tungus women, and *vice versâ*. Since the close of the eighteenth century some of the Russianized Maritime Koryak of the Okhotsk Sea in the villages of Yamsk and Tumanskoye have intermarried with the Yakut.

Russo-Koryak half-breeds are found in the Russianized settlements of Nayakhan, Yamsk, and Tumanskoye, and in Russian villages of that region. The Koryak intermarried with the Chuvantzy and with the Yukaghir at the time when they were waging war with them, and took their women prisoners.

MORTALITY, FECUNDITY, and EXTREME AGE. — To get an idea of the rate of mortality among Koryak children, I copied from the records of seventy-one married women whose measurements we had taken, the number of their living and dead children. Of 278 births, 160 individuals lived, and 118 (42 per cent) were dead.[1] The ages of the dead children are not indicated; but, since about half of the mothers were not quite thirty years old, the children must have been young when they died. As everywhere, so among the Koryak, most of the children that do not survive die during the first year of their lives. This may serve as an explanation of the Koryak belief that children's souls are timid, and that therefore children are more subject than older persons to attacks from evil spirits. For this reason, children are placed under the special protection of the household penates.[2] Notwithstanding this, the mortality of children is enormous in comparison with that of civilized nations. This is the more remarkable, since the Koryak women nurse their children, and not infrequently continue to do so until the children are three years of age. As is well known, the great mortality in civilized countries among children in their first year is due to artificial feeding. It should be noted, in connection with the number of deaths among the Koryak children, that the records were taken by me just after an epidemic of measles, which had proved very fatal to children of all ages. The mortality of children is the same among the Reindeer as among the Maritime Koryak. Dividing the above number of children into two groups, according to their origin, I obtained the same coefficient of mortality in both groups. Apparently the difference in the mode of life of these two groups has no effect on the mortality in childhood.

In order to arrive at some conclusion concerning the fecundity of women, I singled out from the above number of women all those over thirty-nine years of age. Koryak women grow old at an early age, and forty years in most cases may be considered as the age-limit for procreation. Thus I found

[1] Still-births and miscarriages are not included here.

[2] See Part I, p. 101.

I: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY

842 that twenty-two women of from forty years of age and over had 120 children, — one had 1 child; five had 3 children each; four had 4 each; three had 5 each; two had 6 each; one had 7; three had 8 each; one had 9; one had 10; and one had 11. If we assume that all these women are unable to bear any more children (which evidently cannot be said with certainty), we shall then have an average of 5.5 births of living children to every woman, a considerable coefficient of female fecundity.

Of the total number of women whose measurements were taken, 13 per cent had never borne children. However, a part of these women were the wives of bigamists both wives of whom were infecund, and in such cases the husband may have been the cause of the sterility.

145 805 The accounts given by some travellers, of the extreme age reached by the Koryak, are much exaggerated. We could ascertain the age of the Koryak only approximately, by judging from their appearance, for they themselves do not know their age.

When conversing with old people, we tried to call up some event of their childhood, or of some other period of their life, which had left an impression on their memory. For instance, we tried to ascertain who was the chief of the district at the time of a person's marriage. In most cases the recollection of a Koryak regarding the events in his life is extremely confused.

162 145 In making our records we found, out of 284 men, only 13 whom we judged to be more than fifty-five years of age, and but one very old man, a Reindeer Koryak. He was not less than seventy years old, according to recollections of his children, and he may have been older. He was no longer able to drive reindeer, and was brought to us by one of his grandsons. Old women are met with even less frequently than old men.

161 On the basis of the above data, it is difficult to give a definite answer to the question whether the tribe is increasing in numbers or not. I shall touch upon this point in Chapter III; but, speaking generally, the Koryak population at present is increasing in the intervals between epidemics and famines. Epidemics especially carry off the increase of many years. Some Koryak settlements, those which have been or are at present subjected to the process of Russianization, are perceptibly decreasing in numbers.

[164] There is no reason to suppose that the Reindeer Koryak — perhaps with a few exceptions — are decreasing in numbers. They come less in contact with the Russians and with civilization in general than do the Maritime Koryak; they are better provided with means of subsistence, and have therefore preserved to a greater degree their primitive energy, so indispensable in a struggle with the adverse conditions of arctic life. There is no doubt that the Koryak were not very numerous in the past. That which is now accomplished by diseases imported by the Russians was effected in olden times by wars and famines.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.[1] He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tilqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the prevailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Penshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

[1] According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Koriaken, p. 25).